/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for

159 764 his certain death.

Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

75[illegible] The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hĩkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablĩes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hĩkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between • [763] the hĩkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hĩkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kãilala. He does not sing like the sablĩ and has no influence over the specific hĩkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

[See additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

/483 cont./

758 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the
515 stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins.
[302] Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much
[535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the
[766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burn-
[765] ing until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

123 /154 cont./

721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were ● 763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a 183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.